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fore more than a mere reprint, for it adds some fables on its own account.

A careful examination shows that certain statements of the above-mentioned article must be revised. To quote: "Jusqu'au dernier groupe de fables, le texte espagnol suit exactement le texte de l'édition de Steinhöwel; mais il y a quelques changements dans les 'collectes.' Le traducteur espagnol a omis les n^{os}. XVIII (De ypo-crita et muliere vidua), XIX (De iuvenula impotentiam mariti accusante), XXI (De monstribus aliquibus) et XXIII (De vulpe et gallo et canibus), ce qui réduit à dix-neuf ses emprunts au Steinhöwel. En revanche, il ajoute sept contes qu'il a pris ailleurs." As a matter of fact, besides a minor change in Book I, No. XI (where the Latin has "Ass and Boar," while the Spanish fable is entitled "Lion and Ass"), there is an important variation in Book III, No. VIII of the Spanish. Here occurs the fable "Dela raposa 7 del gallo 7 delos perros," replacing the Latin "De Junone et Fenere et aliis feminis," which has in its turn been placed at the end of the Spanish edition, under the title: "Dela diosa uenus 7 su gallina." It is no longer necessary, therefore, to derive the latter from Phædrus; nor did the Spanish omit No. XXIII (De vulpe et gallo et canibus). The Burgos edition takes twenty of the fables in its last book from Steinhöwel, and adds only six from other sources.¹

The word "Ysopete" found in the *explicit* is unusual in most Spanish collections. It may, therefore, be of interest to note that the earliest use of it known to the Romance Seminary of Johns Hopkins University is in an inventory of 1460: "Otro librete que es quesopete en papel, etc."²

GUSTAV G. LAUBSCHER.

ON THE DATE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF MARLOWE'S *EDWARD II*.

The modern texts of *Edward II* are all based on the edition published by William Jones in

1598, with occasional reference to the relatively valueless versions of 1612 and 1622. But it has been generally known for more than a generation that a copy of an earlier edition of the play, dated 1594, is preserved in the *Landesbibliothek* of Kassel, Germany, and that this edition corrects the later ones in a considerable number of minor details. During the last few years a second copy of this 1594 edition has come to light in the municipal library of Zürich.

It is not, however, with the edition of 1594—so far regarded as the *editio princeps* of the play—that I wish to deal, but with the possibility that there existed during the middle of the eighteenth century, and may still exist in some private English library, a copy of a yet earlier edition, published in 1593, the year of the author's death and probably the very year in which the play was completed. The only definite evidence on the question is a copy of the play preserved in the Dyce library, South Kensington Museum (shelf-mark 6209). The printed portion of this book is of no particular consequence; it is certainly a defective copy of the 1598 edition. The title-page and first leaf of the text (signature A₂), containing lines 1–70 of the play, are, however, missing and have been supplied in manuscript. Of the date and author of the ms. insertions we are informed by an entry on the back of the title: 'Mary Clarke her Book and Writting. October the third One Thousand Seven hundred and Fifty One.' The title-page itself is given in the ms. as follows: 'THE / troublesome Raigne and / lamentable death of Edward / the second King of England; / with the tragicall fall of proude / Mortimer. / As it was sondry times publicquely acted in the honorable Cittie of / London, By the right honorable / the Earle of Pembroke his / Seruants. / Written by Chri: Mar: Gent. / Imprinted at London for William Iones / dwelling neere Holborne Conduit at / the Signe of y^e Gufie. 1593.'

Now the most natural inference on seeing this title-page is that the transcriber has made the easy mistake of reading '1593' instead of '1598,' and that the ms. pages were taken from a copy of the same edition to which the printed leaves certainly belong. This, or something like it, must be the general impression, for though the book is catalogued under date of 1593, previous editors

¹The parallel fable "Del padre e fijo que yvan a vender el asno," given by Morel-Fatio as No. XXIV in the "Conde Lucanor" is No. II in the Birch-Hirschfeld edition.

²Cf. G. C. Keidel, *ZRP*, xxv, 727.

and bibliographers of Marlowe have almost entirely ignored its existence. I have had the opportunity, however, during the past year of comparing the title-page and the 70 ms. lines with a photographic facsimile of the Kassel 1594 edition and with copies of the three other early editions. From this examination it seems clear, first of all, that the manuscript part of the Dyce book could not possibly have been copied from either of the 1598, 1612, or 1622 texts. These last have a clause of additional advertisement on the title-page of which the 1594 edition and the transcript know nothing. It follows the words 'proude Mortimer,' and runs thus: 'And also the life and death of Peirs Gaueston, the great Earle of Cornewall, and mighty fauorite of king Edward the second.' There is a difference, also, in the way the next sentence of the title-page is phrased. On the other hand, the texts of 1598-1622 omit the heading which the 1594 edition and the ms. insert at the top of the first page of text. In the body of the play (ll. 1-70) I have found, disregarding mere variations of spelling and accidental mistakes, that ed. 1594 and the ms. differ from the later editions in the following cases:

- L. 28. horses 1594, MS.: horse 1598-1622.
- L. 40. Porpentine (Porpentine) 1594, MS.: Porcupine 1598-1622.
- L. 60. an antick 1594, MS.: the antick 1598-1622.

These differences, particularly those which consist in the omission of a sentence in one place and the insertion of one in another are hardly such as can be explained by any theory of hasty or ignorant transcription, and when we find the transcript agreeing in all the cases indicated with the earlier edition of 1594, we may be sure that it has no connexion with any of the three later editions.

The resemblance to the text of 1594 is certainly closer, but here, too, the divergences are sufficiently great to make copying unlikely, even when we allow for the maximum of carelessness and stupidity on the part of the copyist. In the seventy lines contained in the manuscript, and in the accompanying stage directions, I have counted fifteen variations from the edition of 1594. In six of these the ms. reading is inferior

and may be due to inaccurate transcription. The cases are:

- L. 6. these MS.: these these 1594.
- L. 20. Its MS.: As 1594.
- L. 21. bakt MS.: Rakt 1594.
- L. 22. tantum MS.: Tanti 1594.
- L. 41. eate MS.: dart 1594.
- L. 59. gasing MS.: grazing 1594.

In six other cases of difference there is little to choose between the two versions, viz.:

- S. D. reading of MS.: reading on 1594.
- L. 43. them MS.: these 1594.
- L. 49. I MS.: We 1594.
- L. 54. are MS.: is 1594.
- L. 60. Goates MS.: Goate 1594.
- L. 65. as MS.: which 1594.

Finally, in three cases the reading of the ms. seems preferable:

- L. 9. thine MS.: thy 1594. The only instance where the ms. and the later editions agree as against ed. 1594.
- L. 31. dinner MS.: dinner time 1594.
- L. 58. Syluan MS.: Siluian 1594.

If, moreover, the ms. were based on the edition of 1594, we should have very great difficulty in explaining how that date, clearly printed on the title-page, could be misread or otherwise corrupted into '1593.' So, too, it is hard to understand any reason for which the poet's name, printed 'Chri. Marlow' on the title-page of 1594 should be contracted by an eighteenth century scribe into 'Chri: Mar:', whereas the abbreviation of the author's name on the title of the first edition of one of his works is a very common Elizabethan practice.

Apart from this special evidence, there is great inherent probability that an edition of *Edward II* was published in 1593. On July 6th of that year William Jones—the same who is mentioned on all the title-pages prior to 1612—registered the play at Stationers' Hall under the name of 'A booke Intituled The troublesom Reign and Lamentable Death of Edward the Second, king of England, with the tragicall fall of proud Mortimer.' At this date the year 1593, according to Elizabethan reckoning, had nearly nine months to run, and we know that the ceremony of registration

was normally followed by immediate publication. Accidental causes, of course, might and sometimes apparently did postpone such publication, but in the present instance such a thing is most unlikely. On July 6th, 1593, Marlowe had been just one month in his grave, and contemporary allusions show London to have been agog with stories of his life, his opinions, and the manner of his death. In such circumstances it would be surprising in the highest degree for a publisher to withhold the issue of the dead poet's masterpiece until nine months or more after it had been officially licensed.

It is, therefore, my belief that Mary Clarke had before her on October 3rd, 1751 a copy of a first edition of *Edward II*, otherwise unknown. It would be interesting and important to ascertain whether it has since disappeared beyond recovery. So far my searches have been fruitless, but there appears still ground for hope that inquiry among the obscurer private libraries of England may lead to a very valuable literary and bibliographical discovery.

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A PARALLEL TO AUCASSIN ET NICOLETTE VI, 26.

To the parallels to the interesting passage in *Aucassin et Nicolette* (VI, 26, ed. Suchier), in which Aucassin declares his preference of hell to heaven, there should be added the following story about Niccolò Machiavelli, quoted by Bayle (*Dictionnaire* [sic] *historique et critique*, ed. Des Maizeaux, Amsterdam, 1734, vol. IV, p. 14, n. L) from the Jesuit Etienne Binet (*Du Salut d'Origène*, Paris, 1629, pp. 359-361): "On arriue à ce detestable point d'honneur, où arriua Machiauel sur la fin de sa vie : car il eut cette illusion peu deuant que rendre son esprit. Il vit vn tas de pauures gens, comme coquins, deschirez, affamez, contrefaits, fort mal en ordre, & en assez petit nombre, on luy dit que c'estoit ceux de Paradis, desquels il estoit escrit, *Beati pauperes, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum*. Ceux-cy estans retirez, on fit paroistre vn nombre innombrable de personnages

pleins de grauité & de majesté, on les voyoit comme vn Senat, où on traitoit d'affaires d'estat, & fort serieuses, il entrevid Platon, Aristote, Seneque, Plutarque, Tacite, & d'autres de cette qualité. Il demanda qui estoient ces Messieurs-là si venerables, on luy dit que c'estoient les damnez, & que c'estoient des ames reprouuées du Ciel, *Sapientia huius sæculi, inimica est Dei*. Cela estant passé, on luy demanda desquels il vouloit estre. Il respondit, qu'il ayroit beaucoup mieux estre en enfer avec ces grands esprits, pour deuiser avec eux des affaires d'Estat, que d'estre avec cette vermine de ces belistres qu'on luy auoit fait voir. Et à tant il mourut, & alla voir comme vont les affaires d'Estat de l'autre monde."

Another form of the story is mentioned by Bayle as occurring in the *Epistolæ* of François and Jean Hotman. It is as follows: "Wolphius nuper Augustæ mortuus, in suis *Commentariis in Tuscul.* quas anno superiore mihi donavit, Machiavellum scelerum, impietatum et flagitiorum magistrum appellat, ac testatur illum quodam loco scripsisse, sibi multo optabilius esse post mortem ad Inferos et diabolos detrudi, quàm in cælum ascendere. Nam hîc nullos reperiturum, nisi mendiculos et misellos quosdam Monachos, Heremitas, Apostolos; illîc victurum se cum Cardinalibus, cum Papis, Regibus et Principibus" [Letter of François Hotman, December 28, 1580, in *Francisci et Joannis Hotomanorum . . . Epistolæ*, Amstelædami, 1700].

Villari, in discussing the story in his well-known work, *Niccolò Machiavelli e I suoi Tempi* (2d edition, vol. III, p. 368 ff., Milan, 1897), says that he has been unable to find the book cited by Hotman as his authority, and does not know whether it was ever published. This statement is strange, inasmuch as the commentary, which is by the celebrated German humanist Hieronymus Wolf, is mentioned in so common a reference-book as Pökel's *Philologisches Schriftsteller-Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1882). The book seems to be rare, however, as neither the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, nor the Cambridge University Library possesses a copy of it, and Johann Caspar Orelli states in his edition of the *Tusculans* (Oxford, 1834, p. 365) that he has never seen it, and would "feel greatly obliged" for the loan of it. Copies of it are to be found in